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Fig. 52. Plantation of Groundnuts and Maize near Bébai (Esseng Family), Southern Cameroons.

433 of groundnuts rises to ten spears (equal to 70 pfennigs) while at
 435 other times only five spears (equal to 35 pfennigs) are given for
 244 it. In the Jaunde region, it is true, a plate always costs 70
 pfennigs (equal to 100 Jaunde spears). The groundnut is eaten
 simply as soup or compote. /92/ /Fig. 52 appears here in the
 original text. / The oil content of the nuts is not utilized to
 302 any great extent, but the oil released by cooking is rubbed on
 the skin in order not to waste it. Finally we might mention the
 524 riddle:

onō'n o nga bē'ī a fā' e
 (A) bird, it lives give birth to behind the house of the
bonī'ē: akī' avōk a kōke bōn avūm
 mothers: egg one; there creep out young ones ten.

Answer: owūno = groundnut.

243 Maize, Zea mays L. (fū'n IV), as we have said, is al-
 most always grown with the groundnut (Fig. 52), usually as a
 means of marking off the individual plots and as a border against
 the bush all around the plantation. Farms that grow maize

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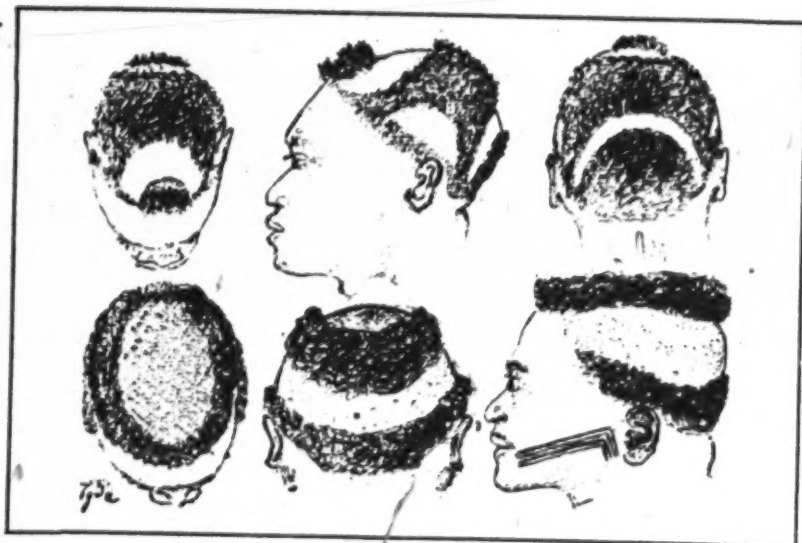


Fig. 116. Hair Styles.

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During the first years of their lives, small children usually go around naked, girls up to the age of five, boys up to their seventh year. The boys' circumcision does not mark a definite limit in this matter since one sees uncircumcised boys clothed and circumcised boys naked, /Fig. 115 appears here in the original text/ but they do not like to wait long after this occasion. Children, especially girls, may also be clad in a piece of cloth as soon as they start to walk.

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Nowadays, the Pangwe do not have a uniform hair style. We find an abundance of different forms among them -- even within the same village -- which shows that, like all Negroes, the Pangwe loves to give rein to his mode in dressing his hair for ornamental purposes.

Children usually have their heads shaved at an early age, either completely smooth or /175/ /Fig. 116 appears here in the original text/ retaining a tuft of hair either in the back or the front or a fringe. Half-grown boys wear their hair long or shaved in patterns.

Among adults the hair is either quite long and neglected (Plate 13) or it is shaved quite smooth. In other cases, it is cut

302 to half length and carefully dressed, or it is cut short, either uniformly (see Fig. 6) or in such a way that a tuft, asik, in front, or a fringe, ongón, over the crown remains standing. Still others cut their hair short and shave it in all kinds of patterns (see Fig. 3), called pfeg, III (a túb bopfeg, "to shave in ornamental patterns"). These would fill an entire book if one were to note them all down. I have illustrated a small number of them in Figure 116.

The hair style in the shape of a helmet, richly adorned with beads, cowrie shells, buttons, and brass nails, constitutes the ne plus ultra of all these types of hair styles. It is this hair style which distinguishes the Pangwe from all other peoples of tropical West Africa (Fig. 117). In the north where this fashion never reached the same perfection it had in the south, it has been given up as a result of European influence. Among the Ntum and Fang, on the other hand, the art of fashioning the helmet hair style blooms luxuriantly (Fig. 118). In this process the hair is made to stand on end by placing under it props made of raffia pith or palm strips; the curls are transformed into pigtales by means of bark strips plaited in with them. The pigtales in turn are braided together to form a pad of uniform thickness. Since the creation of such a hairdo requires ample time, a month and longer, the natives walk about for a long time with /176/ /Figs. 117 and 118/ /177/ /Fig. 119 appears here in the original text/ hairdos that have just been begun or that are more or less unfinished, so that one has the impression at first that he is observing many different kinds of hair styles. Figures 8 and 13, for example, show two different stages in the development of one and the same hairdo.

292 In addition to these styles contrived with the hair of the head, there are removable caps. These are made in precisely the same way and in precisely the same shapes (Fig. 119) as the hair styles just described, so that only upon close inspection can one decide whether the hair has been dressed or has been covered with a cap. These caps, however, are not common and are made only by the Ntum and by a few Fang (Okak). Dressing the hair itself decidedly predominates, a fact which we should mention since from the evidence of the museum material one might arrive at a different conclusion. The illustrations given here all show hairdos.

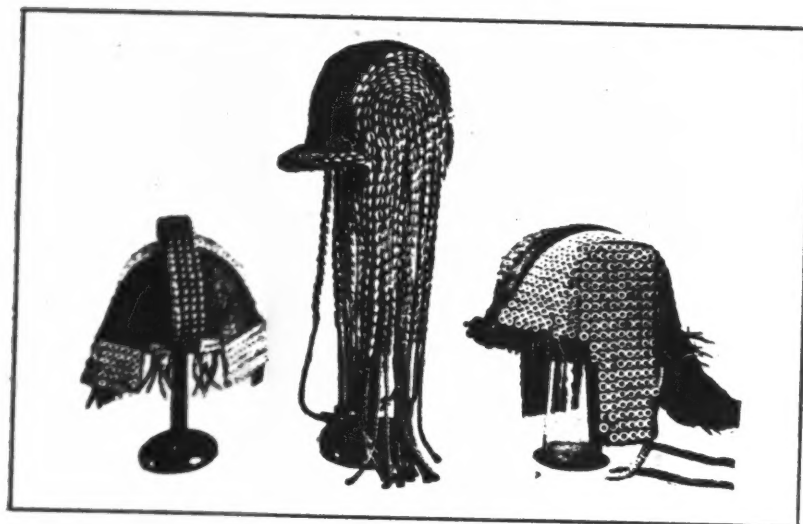


Fig. 119. Helmet Caps.

Of 25 different forms, which are given individual names, about half are worn by both sexes indiscriminately; the rest are worn only by men or only by women. Among the Fang the men's ornaments are more frequently the same as those of the women than is the case among the Ntum, and for this reason they are more frequently the butt of ridicule.

Helmet crests and ornamental caps are worn constantly; only as a sign of mourning are both taken off -- the former is sometimes also taken off before a hunting expedition. /178/

To make his ornamental caps (edō'ban, etū'e'), the Ntum takes a hide from a long-tailed monkey, dwarf antelope, young goat, or sheep. The hide is cleaned of its fat, turned inside out, and drawn over the arch of a plantain rootstock that has been cut to a semi-spherical shape. It is tied with a string at the base, and along the edge it is fastened by pegs to the ground. Stretched in this way, the hide must be dried in the sun and later over the fire.

Furthermore, blackened bast strips of the Triumfetta are needed. These are colored in the following manner: the bark of certain

294 end in a knot (2). Twelve such longitudinal braids are placed

2. In braiding, one frequently greases his fingers and twists the strips slightly.

close to one another. The space between these and the edge of the cap is filled by pigtailed made in the same way but running at right angles to the others; at the edge they are covered by three rows of pigtailed all the way around and are sewed to the hide. /179/ For this one requires a needle made of bark, whose tip has been hardened in the fire and whose other end has a slit for the fiber thread. The pigtailed jutting out over the edge are cut off. A fringe (mbg/m), made of a piece of raffia pith, is put over the crown of the cap. The piece of pith is cut into on both its narrow sides so that it will bend more readily, and over it is sewn a piece of material on which is set a stirrup of the same width, made of palm strips and studded with brass nails -- these stirrups have been described above in connection with the inner surface of the cap. On either side of the fringe there are a few longitudinal rows of red beads strung on raffia fiber. Another decoration on the caps consists of pieces of leather sewn on at the sides, which have cowrie shells or white buttons stitched on them and from which are hung tassels of pineapple strings strung with beads (see Fig. 118, foreground).

The ornamental caps of the Fang are not made of hides but of palm strips, parallel to each other, which are braided with blackened Triumfetta fiber in such a way that one strip is always skipped, and thus a chessboard pattern is created.

● 302 Older people for the most part do not wear bead ornaments in their hair -- insofar as they still have any -- but on the contrary wear simpler hair arrangements which, incidentally, are supposed to have been more fashionable at one time.

291 Among head coverings we need only mention caps made from the hide of monkeys, civet cats, or of the ichneumon, Bdeogale nigripes Puch., as well as imported red caps which are worn by chiefs and other elderly "notables." Hats made from leaves of grass (Paspalum) sewn together resemble our ordinary straw hats in shape

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177 and, according to one informant, are supposed to be imitations of European models.

302 Dressing the beard is rare among the Pangwe, since most of them -- like many other Negroes -- pluck out such hair. In isolated instances there are men with beautiful full beards (Fig. 11) or with pointed beards whose tip has been twisted into a little pigtail and covered with cowrie shells or beads. Still others make two or quite a number of pigtails from their beards (Fig. 12); mustaches are rarely to be seen and are quite insignificant.

2. Ornaments.

301 Among the Pangwe the urge to beautify oneself dominates man and woman equally to a considerable degree. All kinds of ornamental pendants are attached to every possible part of the body. In their hair (Fig. 120) they stick a feather which is often cut out in patterns (a, b), a porcupine's tail (c), a wooden arrow, bones /180/ /Fig. 120 appears here in the original text/ (d), brass coiled in a spiral (e), a comb (see Fig. 139), and also, in rare cases -- usually on the occasion of a dance -- flowers, for instance, those of *Costus* (miên), and attractive or fragrant leaves, such as those of the Leguminosa *Cryptosepalum* aff. *staudtii* Harms (andũh) and of the herb called afuñ. The latter two are worn only by women and usually in two bundles behind the ear. The ear lobe is pierced and provided with an ornament only among a few Mwai.

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304 Nose ornaments (Fig. 121), on the other hand, enjoy great popularity; they are attached in a hole pierced through the septum and not to the side of the nose. The requisite operation is carried out on children between six and eight years of age. /Fig. 121 appears here in the original text. / First the person concerned presses the leaves of the *Aframomum* (adžòm), which have been warmed in the fire, to the septum in order to make it softer. Then the medicine man takes a stick of raffia stalk, a quill from the porcupine, or any other pointed tool and drills a hole through the septum with it after he has picked out the right place with the index finger of his other hand. He now pushes a small piece of stalk

515 (mfūm-e-ndžik IV) and the Simarubacea Odyendea gabunensis
 278 (Pierre) Engl. (ozōk). Furthermore, the Leguminosa Tephrosia
 824 vogelii H. f. (ndāwōlō III) and the Ochnacea Lophira alata Banks
 (akō'ga) are put on the hair. /Fig. 138 appears here in the
 original text. /

In the helmet hairdo, under whose thick pads the lice cannot
 be reached by hand, they are killed by a special procedure.
 "Lice caps" made of plantain leaves and tightly fitted are placed



Fig. 138. Ntum Woman from the
 Campo Region.

on the head after the bark of the Flacourtiacea Caloncoba
welwitschii (Oliv.) Gilg (mičmegūmo III) has been put in it,
 the bark having first been scraped off and moistened.

The hairdos are always greased with oil; also short hair is
 tended very carefully, moistened with oil and combed out. There
 are two /188/ kinds of comb (mvās IV), those carved entirely out

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of wood (Fig. 139, b-d) and those put together from short sticks of raffia leafstalk bark (Fig. 139, a). Frequently a fragrant hair powder (akūt), used by members of either sex but made only by women, is added to the oil. In preparing it, the roots of the following four plants are mixed together:

1. Cyperacea Cyperus articulatus L. (andāk);
2. Moracea Dorstenia scabra (Bureau) Engl. (azōm Fang);
3. Urticacea Trymatococcus africanus H. Baillon (ngō'nā III);
4. An undetermined grass called niasāda.

/Fig. 139 and 140 appear here in the original text. / /189/
/Fig. 141 appears here in the original text. / In any case, they mix two or three of these roots if they cannot get all four of them. The roots have to dry for two months in the hut and are then completely ground to a powder -- in the case of the Trymatococcus this is done only with the bark -- and they are then sifted through a basketwork plate by tapping it with a knife (a kūt, "to tap"). The roots produce an agreeably scented yellowish powder.

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The Pangwe dislike hair on the rest of the body as much as they dislike it on the face. Underarm hair is shaved off with a razor (Fig. 140) "because of the bad smell"; pubic hair is shaved off -- again by both sexes -- because it is believed to cause itching. /Fig. 142 appears here in the original text. / There are, of course, always people, like good old Otu-Mfōō, who will not bother with this kind of attention to the body.

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Just as we use pocket knives, the native uses /190/ one-edged or two-edged knives (okōn), Figures 141 and 142, which he forges himself and carries in sheaths made of brass, leather, hide, etc. at his belt.

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The farther north one goes in the region, the more industriously do the Pangwe brush their teeth. This is done with a stick spliced at the top (Fig. 143) which at times is attractively wound with brass and wire and often serves as a walking stick. Nevertheless the Pangwe do not have nearly such good teeth as one might imagine. Among the Fang at least I never once saw an immaculate set of teeth among adults. The molars are often astonishingly poor, but the front teeth, on the other hand, which are commonly chipped to a point, are better preserved, perhaps because they alone are properly brushed.

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The most important toilet article of both sexes is unquestionably the small oil pot. As often as possible, the Pangwe rub themselves with oil from head to toe, but above all they take care of their hair or, as the case may be, their hairdo. One reason for this, as they say, is that they find the smell of the oil pleasant; a second is that the skin becomes more supple and resistant, in other words, it is a hygienic reason. Add to this the fact -- as was mentioned above --

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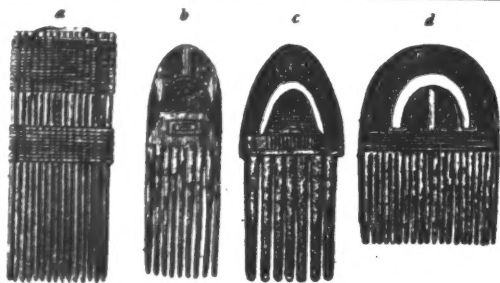


Fig. 139. Combs: (a) made of raffia leafstalk, (b-d) made of wood.

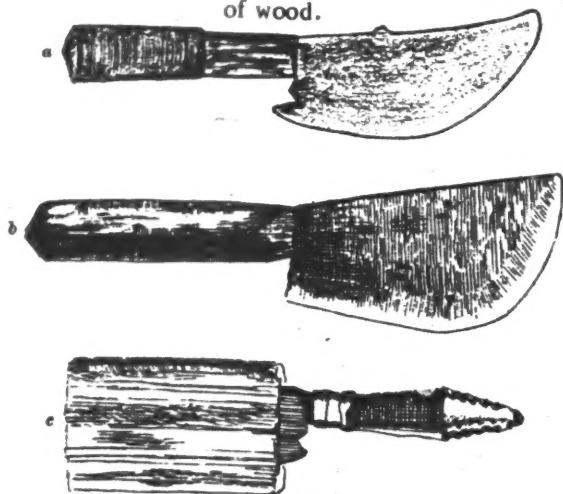


Fig. 140. Razors, (c) with a sheath made of raffia pith.

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362 that raffia palm oil is evidently offensive to lice /Fig. 143 appears here in the original text/ and prevents them from becoming too intimate with their "host." In the case of skin diseases [757] (Krokro /Ed. , ?/ and scabies) and of sand flea wounds, it is even used as a remedy.

Oil (mbón) is obtained mainly from palms: in the north, only from the oil palm; in the south, rarely from this tree and mainly from the raffia palm. At times it is also produced from the kernels of Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl. (adžá'h; fruit, ebón; kernels, ngón IV-ebón), from the kernels of the Carapa procera D. C. (engá'h), and only very rarely from groundnuts (see page 58).

The oil of the raffia palm is used exclusively for the care of the skin, while that of the oil palm is used for the same purpose



Fig. 143. Toothbrush.

for the greater part, only from one-sixth to one-fifth being consumed as food.

(a) Raffia palm oil.

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The fruit (ažū'i'), not yet fully ripe, is carried in baskets from the swamp to the village where they are kept for six days under banana leaves and pieces of banana stalks. Then the scaly shell, insofar as it has not fallen in of its own accord, is removed, and the layer rich in oil, which is located between the armor and the seed, is peeled off by hand or with the help of a scale from the shell. The following riddle refers to the latter procedure. /191/ /Fig. 144 appears here in the original text. /

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ma vlii mot oko, okón, o mbe a
I killed (a) person there, (the) knife, it was to him

nie abum a si, o wo ma ba nie
(at the) belly below, with which I divide him

a oa
for you!

2) Boiled oil.

249 The pressed oil is boiled until it becomes quite clear, a
252 stage which can best be recognized by letting a few drops of oil
824 fall onto a piece of raffia pith. During the boiling, a number of
leaves of the feverweed Andropogon schoenanthus (osim e ntangan),
which has a peculiar smell, tied in a bundle and dipped into the
pot for about a minute. When the oil has boiled long enough, the
pot is taken from the fire, leaves and pieces of bark of the bush
plum Pachylobus edulis E. Don. (asá' Ntum, osúnga Fang) are
put in it for about three minutes -- supposedly because they have
a pleasant smell -- and then the translucent, dirty-white oil is
poured off.

3) Washed oil.

249 The oil is first treated like the pressed oil. After the pound-
252 ing, water is poured into the trough, and the meat of the fruit is
thoroughly kneaded, the kernels being removed at the same time.
The water is then carefully poured off. This process of kneading the
meat in the water is repeated two more times; then the meat is
removed, and the oil floating on the water in the trough is ladled
off. The oil has the same characteristics as the pressed oil; it is
also yellowish-red and is used in the same manner. This oil may
likewise be boiled, and when this is done, it is identical with
the boiled pressed oil. /194/

4) Palm seed oil.

The palm nuts are broken open on a stone (Fig. 146), and
the seeds are heated over a fire in a pot without water. Then
the seeds are set on fire, which forces out the oil that they contain.
The seeds with the oil are then poured onto a potsherd with two
holes in it, and the oil drips into a vessel placed underneath.
Palm seed oil is quite dark and opaque.

302 Finally, we might mention that children -- adults only if
there happens to be no oil available -- sometimes simply place
the palm fruit between the logs of the fire and then rub the warm
fruit back and forth in their hands. The oil which is forced out
in this way is then immediately rubbed onto the skin.

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Aside from rubbing his skin with oil, the Pangwe likes to smear his body with dyes on certain occasions. For this purpose he uses red chiefly, more rarely white, and only exceptionally black. There are no other colors. Red is the color for joy,

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Fig. 146. Nuts of the oil palm are cracked open to extract the oil.

and white is the color for death and evil. From this, the occasions on which the colors are used will be apparent. On festive occasions, that is, dances, weddings, and birth celebrations, red is used, a color which sometimes (for instance, in the love dance) is enlivened by white suns and circles, which seldom

302 appear in black. The natives also put lozenge-shaped /195/ spots
 322 (bendō [k] be ba, "lozenges from the redwood") on the skin, or
 they leave lozenge-shaped areas uncolored when they paint them-
 selves red, in both cases with the help of a stencil, that is, a
 /Fig. 147 appears here in the original text/ leaf from which a
 lozenge-shaped piece has been cut out. On occasions of mourning
 and cult activities dedicated to the "Evil One," on the other hand,
 they wear white.

386 Red dye (bā III, esī) is obtained from the heart of the red-
 wood tree Pterocarpus soyauxii Taub. (mvō IV Fang, mvē IV
 Ntum), a Leguminosa. They prefer old trees that have fallen
 down and are already rotten on the outside. A piece of convenient
 size is knocked off, and using it as a scraper (nīā k-esī, IV) they
 rub it on the rubbing block (nīē -esī), which is the trunk, going
 back and forth and sprinkling fine sand on it from time to time.
 Once I saw the husk of the Leguminosa Pentaclethra macrophylla
 Benth. (ebā i), Figure 147, used as a scraper. When the nearest
 redwood tree is at so great a distance that it is impracticable to
 run to it whenever dye is needed, a small log and a scraper is
 taken to the hut in order to be able to produce the favored red dye
 at all times without any trouble. Very charming little vessels in
 [415] the form of pots, troughs, plates, or stools are used as containers
 for the dye (Fig. 148). /Fig. 148 appears here in the original
 text. /

White dye (vī ok IV) is obtained from the white clay of the same
 name, a kind of pottery clay which usually is darker. It is applied
 after being mixed with water. Black dye is prepared from crushed
 charcoal to which water is added (dye and charcoal, pfī di III).

4. Decoration of the body.

302 We recognized the adornment of the body with different ob-
 304 jects as the expression of a purely esthetic urge; we recognized the
 desire to express personal moods as the motive for painting the
 body. /196/ On the other hand, religious reasons doubtless
 originally played a role in the constant alterations made on the
 body. This seems clear, for instance, with respect to the custom
 of making the teeth pointed and incising the body. These very

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304 ancient notions have of course been forgotten today, and the idea of decoration for the most part has completely overshadowed the religious background.

In the Pangwe region four kinds of actual body decoration are to be encountered. These are burned scars, decorative scars, painting, and tattooing. This sequence is also to be understood in a temporal sense, from the point of view of their historical development. I consider the burned scars to be of the greatest antiquity. We may presume that they first came about accidentally as a result of the use of fire; then, at a later date, they were produced intentionally through dabbing with red-hot coals. These burned scars were later replaced by "cut" scars, that is, by decorative scars produced with a knife, since the knife allowed a finer and more artistic tracing of the line. It may be that at this point younger people, out of fear of the pain, simulated the burned scars by drawing corresponding points or lines on their body with coals that had cooled off. In this way the painting of the body may have started, and this was then further developed with other and better materials. A link between the decorative scars and painting is provided by tattooing; in this process the wounds are rubbed with charred resin.

In my opinion, accordingly, all the varieties of body decoration derive from a common root, fire. In this connection a brief linguistic consideration may be of value. As I already indicated on page 8 /not translated/, kā is the original stem used to designate hostile motion to and fro, pain and danger, cold and heat (for the effect of both is the same), and consequently also fire whenever its effect is to be emphasized. Thus, for example, we have n-kā'-bā = the flame; e-kā'-ba = what is needed for a flame, a torch; a-kā'-d-an = to set fire with a red-hot coal (an); -k-ad? = red-hot charcoal (see Meinhof, Grundriss einer Lautlehre der Bantusprachen /Outline of a Phonology of the Bantu Languages/, page 160, not known to me in Pangwe); me-kā'elī = the name of a tree which supplies charcoal, literally: "charcoal tree"; a-kā'-n = to draw with charcoal, to draw, to write, to brand, to paint (with black); e-kā'-n = tattooing; n-kā'-n = the one who has been drawn, the guinea hen (also sacred, Class I of prefixes; see the Mekang cult).

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Nowadays only children and half-grown boys or girls make simple burned scars (ndütö'lö III) arranged in rows on their lower arm, more rarely on other parts of the body. A small, slightly charred splinter of bark from a raffia leafstalk is pressed with its tip against the skin /197/ and set on fire at the top; it then slowly burns a hole into the hand, which leaves behind it a slightly raised, roundish scar smooth at the top.

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Decorative scars among the Fang, where they are found most frequently and in the most artistic forms, seem to be of great antiquity. At the same time, they do not seem to have spread very far north. They are still found quite frequently among the Ntum, but only rarely among the Bulu, among the Bene only on some older people, and not at all among the Jaunde. More recently, they have also begun to disappear in the southern Pangwe region since people prefer to undergo the recently introduced and far less painful tattooing process. The decorative scars are called /Fig. 149 appears here in the original text/ myān (plural) by the Ntum, endōn by the Fang, and they occur on members of either sex. To make them, a small iron hook (tsāā III Ntum, endōn Fang) is needed; with it the skin is pulled slightly upwards, and then the raised fold of skin is incised with a knife, Figure 149 (okōn e myān), held at right angles to the hook (Fig. 150 and 151). The wound is left to heal without anything being rubbed into it or any bandage being placed on it. These decorative scars are to be found only on the body and on the upper arm, rarely on the face and then only on the forehead.

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Body painting is confined to the Ntum and Fang region and is completely absent in the Jaunde region, supposedly because the tree from which the dye is obtained does not occur there. This tree is the Randia malleifera (Hook) Benth. which among the Fang is called obēndēm (1) or fīna IV (2), as well as mīna; among

1. Derived from abē, Cola acuminata P.B., and ndēm, "long, swaying," because of the slenderness of the tree.

2. From the stem yīn, "dark, black"; e-yīn-dī mōt, "Black (man), Negro."

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302 the Ntum it is called abēndēm or kūdemā'n IV.

The names fīna (mfi'na) and kūdemā'n also designate the painting of the body itself. /Fig. 150 appears here in the original text/

The Randia is a slender tree belonging to the Rubiaceae and grows especially in the vicinity of rivers. Its large whitish blossoms hang from the ends of the twigs or from the forks in the



Fig. 149. Knife for Making Decorative Scars.

branches; its fruit is a berry covered with a number of protuberances running from top to bottom. To obtain the dye a short stick of bark from a raffia leafstalk is drilled into the base of the fruit and stirred about in the contents of the fruit. When the stick is pulled out, a whitish, fairly thick juice sticks to its tip, and with the same stick this is painted directly onto the body in the desired patterns; /198/ after a brief period of time the dye

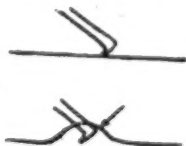


Fig. 150. Making the Incision for a Decorative Scar.

takes on a deep blue-black coloring. The paint stays on the skin from three to four days; in cases of more frequent washing, only two. Afterwards it simply disappears.

Nowadays only small or half-grown boys paint themselves for sport. In former times, however, young people of both sexes did it in order to be conspicuous and in this way to make an impression upon the opposite sex. In those days, therefore, great care was taken with the patterns. Today, only smeared patterns result from the children's lack of skill. /Fig. 151 appears here in the original text. /

1: Tessmann--314 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

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Fig. 3. Ntum from Akonang: (Essandun Family), South Cameroons.

1: Tessmann--318 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9



Fig. 7. Ntum (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea.

1: Tessmann--323 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9



Fig. 13. Ajfngon, a Fang Girl from Alén (Essauong Family).

1: Tesmann--328 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

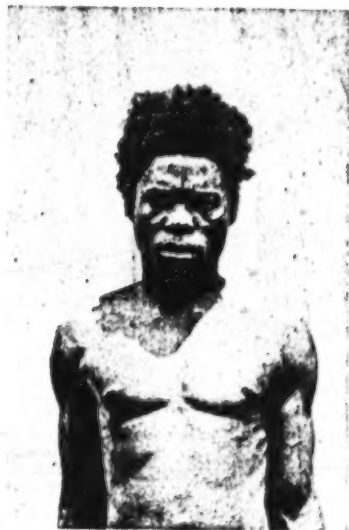
Plate III



Ajông Boka (Essauong Family), Fang.

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Plate XIII



Man from Angónneuai (Omwang Family), Spanish
Guinea.

1: Tessmann--338 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

754 enemy happens to be dancing with other people at some festivity
674 and in the general excitement does not notice when the missile
hits him.

754 As a preventive against zō, a medicine is recommended
751 which consists of:

- 278 1. Albizzia fastigiata (E. Mey.) Oliv. (sō'ne), ground resin;
2. Musanga smithii R. Br., ground involucre leaf (it is
slippery); /149/
3. Pouzolzia guineensis Benth, Urticacea (mbōānē III),
its leaves ground;

Fig. 52. Magic Medicine of a Sō Thrower,
i.e., a Sorcerer or Poisoner.

4. Heckeria subpeltata (Wild) Kunth. (abō'mēdzā'n), stalk
scraped off;
5. Corynanthe pachyceras K. Sch. (evē), its leaves ground;
6. an unidentifiable Euphorbiacea (ayō), its leaves ground.

● [302] This medicine is added to the red wood which is smeared on
the body as a festive decoration.

2. Medicines for Acquiring Luck and Warding Off Misfortune

777 I combine these apparently different medicines because
751 there is a number of them that serve both purposes, the acquisition of good fortune and protection against misfortune. Medicines for warfare, for instance, give one unerring aim as well as protection against bullets. The majority, to be sure, are specific means for obtaining luck or warding off misfortune. The Pangwe designate them as biā'n because they are intended to guard against an illness, for he conceives misfortune or the endangering of his good fortune as an illness. We shall do best to take over this conception and to call these devices "medicines." The medicines for good luck are supposed to bring, above all, wealth and good fortune in love, shooting, setting traps, catching fish, and wrestling. The medicines for wealth (biā'n akū'ma) are based in part on the

583 sufficient time to get to know his future wife and her family.
 584 He treats them with the greatest consideration, and for the mother-
 606 in-law (nīe-ngōn III, that is, the girl's mother) especially he has
 an enormous amount of respect. He is courtesy itself, bringing
 her presents, large and small, and from time to time killing a
 chicken or a sheep for her. In short, one could in all seriousness
 speak of a mother-in-law cult (see the love feast, Vol. II, p. 24).
 And above all: oson, oson, oson: shame, shame, and more
 shame. The son-in-law is unspeakably ashamed before the
 mother-in-law, and vice versa, she before him. This is especially
 true after the wedding when the good mother-in-law extends her
 modesty also to the members of the son-in-law's kin group. Like
 a thief she steals behind the dwellings into her daughter's house
 in order not to be seen, and -- who knows? -- perhaps in order
 not to give rise to mother-in-law jokes.

Riddle:

[539] nze'n e bōnsīe, e ne kaangā
 [524] Way of the lizards, it is (in the) reeds (Cyperus)

Solution:

nze'n e bonī'ngōn, e n' a
 Way of the mother-in-law, it is on (the) stretch

fā
 behind the houses.

585 On the day when a man takes his young wife home, the village
 535 celebrates with a sizable dance, for which all adorn themselves to
 the best of their ability and which the young wife, red from red
 [302] wood dye, attends as guest of honor seated on a stool. On this
 occasion, the popping of blunderbusses may not be omitted, be-
 cause it belongs to the festive music like our flourish of trumpets.
 The dancing and shooting last several days when a wealthy chief
 has acquired a new wife or if it is the first wife of a fellow villager.
 There is nothing strikingly special about any of this; the festivity
 simply involves a series of different /262/ dances (among which
 the dschama is particularly popular which are also customary on
 other occasions.

586 insurmountable aversion to him; 3) repeated theft; 4) sorcery by which the woman kills (poisons) the children of other women, and the man is afraid that sooner or later he will likewise become her victim; 5) the slow development of the woman who was a child when married, in other words, the man ~~had~~ overestimated her age (this case is as characteristic of the Negroes as the reason given for it: "So that his money will not be spent for nothing"); 6) such diseases as leprosy, elephantiasis of the feet, and a form of dysentery (tig), if they appear soon after marriage.

In certain cases it may also happen that continued adultery and sterility of the wife lead to divorce.

If the reason for the return of the wife is well founded, which in most cases it doubtless is because a Negro will not give away his wife for nothing, the purchase price is returned, or in case the father-in-law has more daughters, a sister of the ex-wife is given in exchange for the unsuitable one. /264/

[691] Naturally, quarrels arise in great abundance on such occasions, and legal proceedings stemming from the refusal to return the purchase price of a wife constitute, next to cases of adultery, the majority of all litigations.

4. Medicines, Influence of Sexual Intercourse

842 In the opinion of the Pangwe, the seed is formed in the
827 nipple. This idea was probably arrived at through the fact that at the time of sexual maturity the breasts swell and at times even attain the size of the breasts of girls of the same age. From the nipple the seed flows into the pubic region to the mons pubis (edä'k) and is deposited there to flow out during coitus (see medicine for gonorrhea, Vol. II, p. 50). There would be too much if the pubic hairs were shaved off. Hence they are merely cut
[302] short as a hygienic measure dictated by the hot climate, the secretion of sweat, and itching skin rashes. Concerning the significance of the testicles, the Pangwe are in complete ignorance; they believe that they merely serve to erect the penis.

841 Menstruation is the sign of the ability to bear children and is looked upon as an effect of the moon (ngōh = girl and moon).

304 of the neck for the sô; a (secret) design on the sacrum for the ngil; three horizontal marks on the nape for the ndôngô; a line of "vaccination marks" on the inner surface of the arms, forearms, and thighs, and along the carotid arteries, for the serpent /associations/, etc.

• 302 Men wore their hair braided, or else they shaved the temples and parietal bones, leaving a sort of comb on the top of the skull, suggesting a gorilla's crest. There were special ways of dressing the hair appropriate for the different initiations. The moustache was worn only by the benya bôtô; the beard, a goatee, by a few aged men, often diviners. In our day men usually wear their hair short and merely combed; a central part, in the Lower Nigerian fashion, was very common around 1948 among factory hands, while former recruits went in for a crew cut with a frill beard /barbe en collier/. Many students wear a little goatee, and this style is now growing among the rest of the younger generation. Since up to now wearing a beard was a sign of mourning, a political implication has sometimes been [765] attributed to this fashion—but mourning beards are not trimmed. /88/

Women have many ways of doing their hair. in plaits, checker [765] board, "horns," etc. As a sign of mourning their heads are shaved, and they are not allowed to comb the hair that grows out before the end of mourning. The growth of beard or moustache that often [145 754] follows menopause is considered a sign of sorcery. Stylish women pluck their armpits, and a few also remove their pubic hair, for reasons perhaps of elegance and hygiene, perhaps of ritual (is there a relationship between the name of the important female rite mevungu and mevul, meaning "female pubic hair?"). Padouk powder, baa, is still used in the way that henna is for both magical and aesthetic reasons, but European make-up, mainly lipstick, has taken its place among young fashionable women.

55 Bodily cleanliness is much in favor: men and women often bathe several times a day with plenty of soap. But it is common to see them put back on their well-scrubbed bodies perfectly filthy clothes, no doubt because bodily cleanliness is a much older practice than that of wearing clothes made of cloth.

c. Psychological Characteristics

[81] Like the majority of known peoples, the Pahouin have a very flattering opinion of themselves, and the curious thing is that this

779 that would be against totemic law and would mean sacrilege.
 721 In order to avoid this ritual offense, which would necessitate ex-
 782 piation and would necessitate expiation and would furthermore
 wipe out all the efficacy of the sacrifice, the chief first of all
 approaches [551] the victim, and asks his name, race, and
 tribe. Is there no obstacle to the sacrifice? "A ne mvè," he
 cries, "a ne nwuba (he is good, he is 'dedicated')!" The man
 is then tied to the foot of the altar and very rarely does he re-
 sist. All Africans resign themselves to death with almost un-
 [61] conscious ease, when they see that it is inevitable. (1)

1. In certain villages I have sometimes met such men destined for sacrifice, be-
 cause they are often kept for many weeks.
 They walked around in the villages, ap-
 parently free, well fed, and well treated;
 the only sign of their captivity was a
 rather light block of wood well fastened
 to one of their feet, which they dragged
 along. Within the village this shackle
 was not much of an encumbrance, but in
 the forest it would have been an almost
 insurmountable obstacle to flight. Count-
 less times, I have offered either to help
 them escape or to have the colonial au-
 thority free them. "What for?" they used
 to reply; "I'm well fed and treated;
 death is going to come anyway. Awu nzu
mbèmbè! (What's the use!)"

[276] So as to prevent any possible struggle, the evening before,
 the victim is given an intoxicating beverage, containing mostly
 the juice of ebbè and of yam (hemp). As soon as he has been
 779 tied to the altar, and the chief has pronounced the ritual words,
 721 the warriors start putting on their war dress. First they paint
 782 their bodies red with baza (1) dye, and upon this first layer they
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1. Pterocarpus angolensis: the wood is

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mashed and mixed with oil and produces
a splendid, very lasting red dye.

draw white horizontal lines with white clay (mfem). A wide black circle is traced around the eyes; on the forehead each one draws the likeness or symbol of his tribal or clan totem, or instead, they sometimes draw it on their temples or cheeks. Thus the "axe" of the Amvom, actually the likeness of a boa, their totem serpent, winds over their cheeks and temples and ends near the eyes. To enliven this image, the juice of a grassy lily, the chlorophyton (ayân é si), is used, which gives a long-lasting, blueish color. On the chest each one then draws his individual totem in black with gardenia juice.

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Once they have finished these preparations, the warriors pick up their weapons and fetishes and begin the war dance, which consists of two parts: a totemic dance and then the real war dance, [552] which has a stronger beat and is more lively. I have already described this before in connection with the war song, which here accompanies the dance.

[787]

After the war dance the chief approaches the victim. He is forced to his knees; the practitioner draws a white line on his neck, then violently pulls his head forward, while an assistant twists his arms behind his back. The practitioner cuts off his head at one quick blow with the sacrificial knife, and tosses it onto the altar. The chief collects the spouting blood in a pot kept for the purpose, a new pot which will afterwards be broken. As soon as the blood stops, the corpse is laid on fresh banana leaves and the practitioner, helped by the chief, opens his chest, taking care to use only two knife strokes: one across and one up and down. The heart is taken out and placed beside the skulls; then the lungs and liver are removed. According to the body's last twitching and the position of the organs, the practitioner predicts the outcome of the war. It will either be fortunate or cause the death of many warriors. "The funeral songs will last a long time," he may say, and the crowd will raise a cry of distress! If on the contrary the auguries are favorable, there will be shouts of joy, a song of triumph and gladness.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

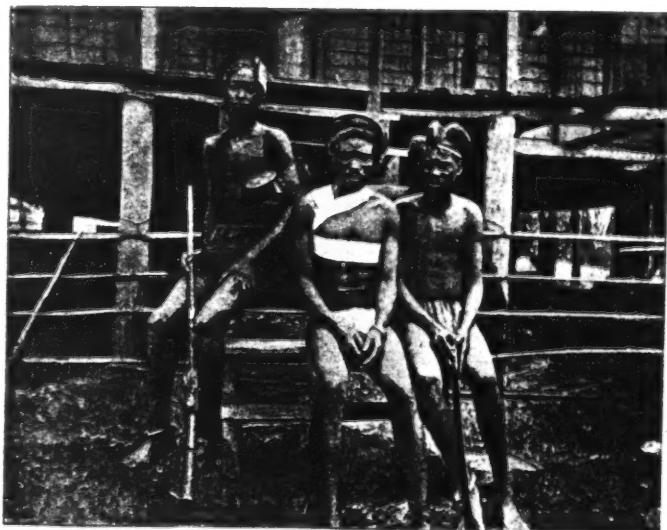
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FANG WOMAN.

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FANG YOUTHS.

[p. 66(C)]

- 563 discovered how to work *eki* (iron) and then taught others. They are also skilful hunters, and frequently succeed in killing game when others fail. In trade, it is almost impossible to cheat a dwarf, hence the Fang saying, "*Mon mci meduk mbe,* [539] *mon ngui aduk aroti.*" (You can cheat a Fang twice, a dwarf once.) In this proverb the word "*mci*" equals Fang (see photographs and measurements of Fang dwarfs).
- 266 The Fang are cannibals and only fear of the authorities keeps them in check. In the autumn of 1898 a man was killed and eaten within ten miles of our mission station on the Nkomo river. I heard of the affair two days after the man had been killed, and taking a boat hurried down to the place accompanied by one of the sons of King "Kelun" from Nenge-nenge, as guide. In the palaver house of the town was a captive boy in chains. The people of this town would not admit having eaten a man, yet did not deny it; they said that the human bones in a hole behind the palaver house were those of a man who had "died two days before." I afterward learnt that the captive boy had been killed and eaten a few days after my visit. Several Fang have admitted to me that "some Fang eat man meat," and they have been told that it is far more enjoyable to eat than goat. My informants always added that they would not do such a thing—"only bad Fang did so." What I have learned from others and my own observations lead me to believe that an immense tract of country in West Africa from a trifle north of the equatorial line extending even as far northward as to include a portion of the German sphere of influence in the Cameroons, is occupied by numerous anthropophagous tribes all more or less closely related.

II.—Physical and Moral Characteristics.

- 142 Physically the Fang are a fine people. They may be classed as of medium size. Some of the males are exceptionally large and well built. At Foulabifong, the Fang village on the Nkomo river, where I reside, there is a man belonging to the Eisis tribe who is the largest and finest specimen of humanity I have ever seen in Africa (photo shown on screen).

The skin colour of the Fang is sooty-black or dark reddish-brown, chocolate: (numbers 2 and 3 Topinard's scale); coal-black skins (number 1, Topinard's scale), are in the minority. The skin is smooth and when well cared for, as it very often is, it feels soft and velvety. In the adult the skin is lighter in the axilla; the palm of the hand and sole of foot are permanently yellow. The average Fang eye has a dark iris (class 1, Topinard's scale), and the eye-balls are placed with their long axes nearly in one horizontal plane. I have occasionally noticed a compression of the outer angle of the opening, mostly in females, strongly suggestive of the "almond eye." The hair may be classed as black and woolly. It is uniformly scattered over the hairy scalp; the hairs are coarse in texture. The males seem to have an aversion to hair on the face and frequently pluck it out; only a small percentage grow beards.

In adult males hair is often quite abundant on the chest and forearms.

291 clothing. The Fang do not use any coverings to protect the feet. Rank is not distinguished by the dress, very often the brightest and cleanest wrappers are worn
 [554] by the young men while the *kuma* (headman) is often clothed in a dirty old rag.
 [622] Very often the *kuma* wears an imported straw or felt hat obtained in trade, and this alone distinguishes him as headman of the town. Next to the possession of women and guns, a Fang man's great desire is to own "much cloth."

Personal Ornaments.

302 *Head.*—The Fang dress their hair in the same manner as the Bulu, and the way they build it up on the head over wooden shapes is often very remarkable and shows considerable skill. Very often the hair is built up over these shapes
 291 in ridges, the upper edge of the ridge having white shirt buttons fastened along
 301 it or brass headed tacks driven in. Wigs are used and very skilfully made. Very often the term wig would be a misnomer, for the ingenious contrivance made to fit over the bald head is often entirely devoid of hair, being simply a close-fitting skull cap knitted with string made from the pineapple fibre. The wigs are usually decorated with shirt buttons or imported glass beads. The hair is frequently plaited and twisted into ringlets by both sexes; dyeing the hair is not practised. Beads and white shirt buttons are worn on the hair in large quantities, also large cowrie shells dyed with red wood powder. The beads and buttons are often sewed on pieces of goat or deer skin, a separate portion decorating each side of the head, connected by a string of beads passing across the forehead.

301 Moustaches are seldom cultivated, beards when worn are allowed to grow naturally; but both are frequently removed by depilation; shaving is not practised. Ornaments are frequently worn in the ears, and are usually suspended by a small cord passed through a hole in the lobe. Women and young girls when returning from work in the forest or gardens frequently cluster grasses, leaves of vines and fragrant herbs around their ears; it is a rather pretty custom. Certain fetish charms are worn suspended from the ear; women frequently use for an ear fetish the small quills from a porcupine's tail, and they say it will bring them children. Brass and iron ear-rings are also worn.

3047 Males do not seem to feel inclined to ornament the nose, but many Fang women delight to do so. They pierce the triangular cartilage with a long slender bamboo pin: the pins sometimes project out three inches on either side of the nose. Very often a medium-sized porcupine quill is used as the ornament, in place of bamboo; it certainly looks better. Some women thus decorated look very repulsive. A female who is credited with considerable power as a medicine woman will almost invariably have the nose pierced and decorated. Ornaments are not worn on the lips or cheeks.

Body.—Men, women, and children wear necklaces of glass beads, the hoofs of very small antelope, and certain forest beans, are strung and worn around the neck. Bristles from the tail of an elephant are used for the same purpose. When

in mourning, a necklace is made from bleached grass plaited; it is worn by both sexes. A very favourite fetish charm to suspend from a necklace is a leopard tooth. I have frequently seen the two tusks of a wild boar or "Wart hog" worn around the neck as an ornament and have succeeded in bringing specimens worn mostly by the women. Imported thick brass wire wound around the forearm from wrist to elbow is a very favourite armlet; it is kept highly polished. Brass wire is often wound so tightly around the biceps as to seriously interfere with circulation. Broad pieces of beaten brass are worn on the arms, and ivory bracelets are much valued. Sometimes six or more rings of ivory are cut from a tusk, and all worn on one arm. Finger and thumb rings are mostly worn by the women; they are made of brass, copper, or iron, and are usually very thick and heavy. When [765]
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Rings are no indication of rank or marriage. It is not uncommon to see a woman with three heavy brass rings on one thumb, and eight or ten similar rings on the fingers. Narrow girdles of leopard, goat or deer skins are worn across the chest to support the native fighting knife and bunch of fetish charms. I have been visited by a bushman wearing no less than twenty-three charms.

Legs and feet.—Leglets and anklets of brass are much worn and sought after by women. Brass leg rings imported by traders are in great demand. There does not appear to be any special time set for commencing to wear anklets; mere infants are frequently decorated with them. Some of the leglets are very heavy, and many women wear ten or more on one leg. These rings often fit very tightly and impede circulation, or chafe and cause nasty indolent ulcers. The ankles and feet often swell and become very painful as a result of insufficient blood supply. Toe-rings are of iron and brass largely worn, and fit so tightly that the ring is often deeply imbedded in the flesh. Usually only one ring is worn on a single toe.

Painting and Tattooing.

Painting.—The method of painting the body by smearing on redwood powder mixed with palm oil, so largely practised by the Bulu, is followed in the same manner but to a much less extent by the Fang. Soft portions of the redwood tree are pulverised and mixed with oil into a thick paste, and the preparation smeared over the entire body. Occasionally a red band is painted across the forehead. When in mourning, dust, mud, or white clay is frequently rubbed over the entire body. Much more frequent is the practice of painting arrow heads, bands, or dots. The pigment used is a dark blue colour, obtained I am told from a tree fungus. The Ngi or witch doctor, when at work, in addition to his other paraphernalia smears his body with white chalk. Except in the case of the Ngi, the only object in decorating the body by painting is to appear *mbung* (beautiful), and with the Bulu when asked the reason for smearing the body with red paint, they usually reply it is *abung* (handsome). Imported pigments are not used for body decoration. 302
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Tattooing.—The custom of tattooing is much in vogue. I have not been able 304